UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

Know Thyself

By HENRY RAYMOND MUSSEY

The Crime of the Ages

By ZONA GALE

The Individual and the State

By DAVID STARR JORDAN

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JOHN HAYNES HOLMES : Editors : FRANCIS NEILSON

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FRANK C. DOAN
CHARLES F. DOLE
ZONA GALE
JESSE H. HOLMES
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCIII THURSDAY, MAY 15, 1924 NUMBER 11

OUR CHALLENGE

We do not mean to stand where we are. Have we then not found the truth? We have, but we need more. Have we not seen the light? Yes we have, but how it shines unto the perfect day, we have yet to see. Dewdrops of heavenly joy and peace have we gathered and tasted, but the vast ocean of Divine joy still surges before us. Therefore we mean to go further and further, under the guidance of God, in the path of ever-increasing wisdom, love, purity and joy, never satisfied with what is achieved, but always panting and struggling for fresh acquisitions. Our Scripture is not closed, but fresh chapters are still being written and added year after year. What the Lord will reveal to us ten years hence, who knows save He? We thank Him for the revelation he has already vouchsafed unto us, but more He will yet reveal. So has He told us. Towards fuller light we shall, therefore, prayerfully and reverently press forward.

—Keshub Chunder Sen.

The real problem of democracy is the one which involves the getting of people to think. Most people do not want to be troubled with thinking. Thinking means work—hard work. It often involves mental disturbances and the giving up of cherished ideas. It is easier to drift along with the crowd than it is to stand alone. It is easier to accept what is given us than it is to dig out things for ourselves. And yet democracy can only function in terms of thought. The reason that we have so much injustice in the world is not because people are unkind or cruel, but because they are lazily indifferent or ignorant. It is difficult for us to assume responsibility. Rather than be disturbed, we are willing to shut our eyes. We are even irritated with those who insist that we ought to keep our eyes open. Socrates called himself the gad fly of Athens. What we need more than anything else just at the present time are modern gad flies who will arouse us and compel us to see what is going on about us. If we could only see the sorrow and the misery and the suffering of the world, it would arouse us from our sluggish indifference and compel both thought and action. If we could see the present misery of Europe, we would be desperately in earnest in our endeavors to organize the world for peace. We drift along with the possibility of catastrophe before us just because we are unwilling to be unhappy.

May Day passed with the usual celebrations—riots in Berlin, vast popular demonstrations in Moscow, and strikes here and there in America. The one unusual event of the day was the statement of J. Ramsay Macdonald. Never before has a premier of the British Empire spoken as a labor man to laboring men throughout the world on the great issues of their common concern. There *is* something new under the sun, after all! But Mr. Macdonald's statement was remarkable not only as marking a new epoch in history, but also in itself as a prophecy of those better days to come, of which his own advent to power is so thrilling an augury. Especially impressive was his expression of hope that the first day of May might be set aside as an annual world holiday for the celebration of peace and for dedication anew to international ideals of brotherhood. If the League of Nations could thus consecrate this date, as Mr. Macdonald specifically urges, we are inclined to think it would have done more to fulfil its professed purposes than it has done or attempted to do in all its commissions, all its settlements, or even its so-called "World Court." There is something in sentiment, after all—much in the audacious projection into the outer world of the dreams and visions we cherish within our souls! Here would be one day in the year when we would be ashamed to be other than brothers—which is some gain, at least!

The latest from Austria is interesting—or should be, especially to those who think that the League of Nations is working wonders in that unhappy country. In the May issue of *The Current History Magazine* (page 314), we read that "the Austrians as a people are not much inclined to endure the hardships incidental to the task of financial rehabilitation"—that "the workmen of the country are the lowest paid of their class in Europe"—that the "cost of living by the middle of February had reached the highest level since the war" —that "burdensome taxation was responsible for the fact that the Vienna Co-operative . . . had to pass the dividend on last year's business." A lovely situation —with the international bankers drawing their regular interest on the big loan which has brought all these ineffable blessings upon the country! How extraordinary to read in this same article of "the general desire of Austrians to end at the earliest possible moment international control of their finances"! What we see here, as we prophesied immediately that announcement was made of the League of Nations' scheme, is the deliberate exploitation of the miseries of the Austrian people. The vaunted loan was nothing but a device

for the economic enslavement of these people—with low wages, high prices, inordinate taxation, and general distress the price of a so-called "stability" which profits nobody but the generous bankers of London and New York. And now Hungary goes beneath the yoke, and, if the Dawes Commission has its way, Germany! It all demonstrates what we have contended from the beginning—that the League of Nations is absolutely ineffective for any good purpose of peace or brotherhood, but a superbly efficient instrument for any high-handed brigandage of the victors upon the vanquished in the Great War.

An enemy of the Soviet government, writing in *The Forum* (May, page 694), declares that the people who have praise for Lenin and the Bolsheviki must be classified "under one of three Capital Heads: (1) They are mentally incompetent. (2) They are mentally dishonest. (3) They are 'Bought and Paid For.' Or under all three." Well, well—this is pretty severe! Not even are any of these supporters of Russia presumed to be merely ignorant, which at least is charitable, if not flattering! No—they are feeble-minded, dishonest, or paid agents of the "Reds." Which sets us questioning as to where *we* come in, for we have upheld the Soviets from the beginning, and therefore must classify somewhere. We have been accused many times, of course, of being "bought and paid for." That is the easy and therefore popular charge against the man who disagrees with you. The trouble with this indictment is that we have never received from Moscow any Russian money. If we have been sold, it is for a *quid pro quo* which has never arrived. When we went to Russia, in 1922, we had to buy rubles just like anybody else, and at rates of exchange which seemed more like robbery than anything else. No—we don't classify here. We may have been "bought," but we have never been "paid for." This failing, we turn to the second explanation—we are "mentally dishonest"! Here of course nobody can be a judge but ourselves, and we know, if nobody else does, that we are not mentally dishonest on this issue. If we ever believed in anything in all our lives, we believe in the Russian Revolution. We may err in so doing, but we err sincerely. This leaves only one possibility—we are "mentally incompetent." Here obviously is the explanation of our position. Bertrand Russell, in his recent book entitled, "Icarus," speaking of giving the government power to sterilize imbeciles, states that this will be "a most desirable object." But, he continues, "probably, in time, opposition to the government will be taken to prove imbecility." Exactly! and this is what has already happened in regard to the Russian government. To support this is in and of itself proof of mental incompetency. Q. E. D.

How true the old maxims are! This, for instance—It makes a difference whose ox is gored! For example, Bulgaria has for some time been engaged in making war upon the Communistic movement. On April 3rd the Court of Cassation in that country ordered the dissolution of all the Communist political and economic organizations. On April 5th the police raided a printing plant in Sofia and captured the manager and one assistant, after a fight in which a policeman was wounded and one of the Communists killed. On April 29th all newspapers were suppressed. Now, suppose that these events, three very casual episodes in a war to the death against the whole Communist movement—a war which has crowded the prisons of Bulgaria with Communist leaders—suppose that these events had transpired the other way round in Russia. Suppose that the Soviet supreme court had dissolved all reactionary political and economic organizations. Suppose that the red army had raided a printing plant in Moscow, captured the managers, and killed one of the intellectuals. How the newspapers would have railed at the tyranny of the Bolsheviki! How they would have trotted out all the old canards of despotism, persecution and massacre! How they *have* screamed against the Soviet denial of free press! But these events now transpire not in Russia but in Bulgaria. Hence, aside from a casual news report, nothing is said; or, if anything is said, it is a word of praise, as of Mussolini, for the vigorous way in which revolutionary propaganda is being suppressed. The fact of the matter is, a lot of things are being done today in Europe which bear no imaginable relation to democracy. We have dictatorships not merely of the proletariat in Russia but of the aristocracy in Bulgaria, Hungary, Roumania, Italy, Spain, and other countries. These dictatorships are doing highhanded things. In Russia, since 1922 at least, conditions are perhaps freer than in any other of the disturbed areas. But we hear of nothing but tyranny there, while the real dictatorships of black reaction are left to perpetrate their horrors either with silence or with praise. It's the question of "whose ox," after all!

We are glad to find in Felix Adler's new book, "The Reconstruction of the Spiritual Ideal," the statement about the police problem which we have long wanted and expected to see in print. Almost always, when we argue for non-resistance—i. e., for the abandonment of physical force for moral force as the basis of social relationships—somebody is sure to rise up and talk about government and the police. All government, our objector tells us, rests in the last analysis on physical power, and the police system is the outward embodiment and symbol of this fact. It is not without reason that we speak of "the police *force*"! This argument, however, has never reached us at all, for it has never seemed to us to be true that government, at least a democratic government, thus rests on sheer physical power. And now comes Felix Adler

to state what I have so long wanted said on this point. We quote from pages 179-180:

> Finally, to return to the question of the use of force, it may be said, I think without fear of contradiction, that the force used by courts is in essence not physical but moral force. *The few thousand officers of police who maintain order in a great city would be powerless to do so did not the moral sense of the community support them.* Yes, it is the moral sense of the community that must also find its echo in the mind of the offender against the law, and bring him, morally speaking, to his senses. Where this is not the case and mere force is used to subjugate the offender, the administration of justice is still barbarous.

All this we believe to be profoundly true. The police force is regulative in its essential character and not repressive. It succeeds just to the extent that it approximates to the ideal of the "traffic cop," and fails just to the extent that it lapses from this ideal. We never tire of reminding people that the greatest police force in the world, that of London, is unarmed. Note also "Golden Rule" Jones's experience in disarming the police of Toledo!

The graphic number of the April *Survey* has a very carefully written description of five modern orphan asylums, four of which have been built very recently. It is evident that in all of these institutions there is some recognition of the fact that institutional care is not the perfect basis for life. The fact that will surprise most readers of this article is the great cost of caring for the children in these institutions. The lowest cost per year per capita is maintained by the New York Orphans Asylum Society of the city of New York. The amount, not including depreciation on buildings and equipment, is $548.67. The highest per capita cost is at Mooseheart where an asylum is maintained by the Loyal Order of Moose. The cost here is $964.62, not including depreciation. Including it, it is $1,025.32 per capita. This means that for a family of seven children, the cost would be $100,000. It is perfectly evident that the institutional care of children under the circumstances that modern society will tolerate is expensive; but our objection to institutional care of normal children is not based on its cost. Even if it cost one-third or even one-half less than the cost of a normal child in a normal home, still that would be no justification for this crime against childhood. "Every normal child is entitled to a normal home." There are plenty of homes into which orphan children would be gladly received if funds were available for the food and clothing of the children. This so-called placing out system has, at its disposal, a practically unlimited number of homes. The institutions can never take care of but a limited number. They always appeal to the pride and vanity of the people who are responsible for them. Anyone who has seen a little child crying his heart out in one of these modern marble palaces for children can understand why it is that they never can really take the place of a home. Millionaires, not knowing what to do with their money, may think it is a lovely thing to erect a monument to themselves in the way of an orphan asylum. In so doing, they are not thinking of the children but of themselves. Many of these institutions care for children whose fathers are dead but whose mothers are living. These mothers are separated from their children by no crime that they have committed, but because it is the more dramatic thing to care for the children in an institution than it is to give the mother a chance to care for her own child. Someday we will be wise enough to understand that the first thing to be considered in the problem of dependent children is the child itself.

Know Thyself

If love is to save the world, it must be informed by knowledge. This basic truth Mr. Weatherly has pointed out with force in a recent issue of UNITY. "Without knowledge the people perish." But knowledge must be conceived in no narrow or conventional sense. The mere increase of information, to which no small part of our recent university activity, for example, has been devoted, is no guarantee of salvation. To knowledge in this restricted sense must be added the wisdom of critical thought if individual or social action is to be guided aright. The failures of the individual in this respect are writ large in the tragedies of community and state action.

In individual experience the basic problem presents itself simply every day. A friend asks me to go on a picnic tomorrow; in entire good faith I reply that I have no time, though the truth is, as a moment's critical thinking would disclose, that I prefer to do something else. In this simple case I fail, not for lack of information, certainly, but for lack of discrimination in my thinking. The relevant facts are simple. A large number of rival ends, working on me with different degrees of pressure, are always competing for the disposal of my time. A new one is presented. Weighing it against the others, I reject it by comparison. But instead of saying honestly to myself and my friend that I prefer to do the old things, I find it necessary in human decency to give to him and to myself as well an excuse for not doing the thing he suggests. Therefore I give a certain fictitious compulsory character to the acts which in reality I prefer, as evidenced by the fact that I actually do them. On this basis I demonstrate to myself and my friend that my twenty-four hours a day are filled full of necessary activities, and that his new candidate for my attention must be rejected, much as I should like to offer hospitable welcome. Thus my sense of duty is tickled, my feeling of obligation to my friend is satisfied, and I go on in

good conscience doing what I want to do, having used my knowledge of the facts quite unconsciously to fortify the position I took for reasons quite unavowed to myself or anyone else—and next day another friend invites me to go to Europe at his expense, and I discover that somehow I have time, though it involves tearing up my whole scheme of life for six months.

It is perhaps unnecessary to elaborate a truth so obvious, but we need to get the principle clearly in mind. The principle is that with the facts in hand we fail to discover the truth because of our uncritical thinking; hence we believe and act an untruth. I refused to go on the picnic because I *preferred* to do something else; I thought that I refused because I *had* to do something else. My action was predicated on a falsehood to which I carelessly gave intellectual assent. By that careless thinking I made it easier for me to deceive myself next time.

The first essential application of the principle likewise is obvious. Every man is required, on pain of believing and acting a lie, to acquire the habit of being ruthlessly critical of his own thought, of questioning rigidly the reasons he gives himself for his own actions. The process is a devastating one, wholly unflattering to a man's judgment of himself. At its end he can probably only cry "God be merciful to me a sinner!" But so far as he can establish the habit, his mind comes to possess a certain limpid quality in which the truth is seen as it is, his spirit to have a certain serenity in its depths, even when its surface is agitated by storm, his action to manifest a certain eternal quality because it is taken in accordance with truth and not with lies. Such a man becomes a tower of strength to which others repair in time of distress and danger.

But scarcely less important, the perception of his own fallibility and capacity for self-deception gives to such a man an unfailing charity for the similar weakness of other men, and no weakness is more nearly universal. In fact, the amount of conscious lying and hypocrisy in the world is astonishingly small, while the amount of self-deception that flowers in falsehood and false action is almost without limit. Who would understand other men, then, must not judge too harshly. Only remorseless self-criticism furnishes the basis for understanding and helpful criticism of others. We cannot help other men understand themselves except as we understand them by understanding ourselves. To criticize as a hypocrite the public man who uncritically believes himself to be acting from other motives than those which do at bottom move him is simply to add untruth to untruth, to awaken unnecessary and useless antagonism, and to hinder the process of clarification of thought through the extension and critical use of knowledge. It may give the critic a certain zest in attack; it certainly does nothing to forward the cause in whose behalf he imagines himself to be acting.

Unsparing critical consideration of one's own thinking, then, provides the basis for a sound technique in controversy concerning public affairs. Without it, the better-informed men of every period are too likely to regard the others as wilfully perverse, hypocritical or morally bad. When officials of the United States or American business men proclaim our civilizing mission in the Philippines or the Caribbean, intelligent Americans are often inclined to cry "Pecksniff!" and let it pass at that. But that is not enough, because for the most part it is not true. The wide knowledge for which Mr. Weatherly pleads must be spread broadcast in the community, and then men must be helped to understand the forces that move them to think and feel and act as they do. When they cannot or will not understand, even then it is not the time for denunciation, but still for patient, kindly, unsparing criticism, with no imputation of evil motives, with unending charity for human weakness and capacity for self-deception, qualities that the honest self-critic finds forever at work to destroy the validity of his own thinking.

Critical thought, then, must first liberate and clarify our own beliefs and practices by showing the foundations on which in truth they rest, putting us forever on guard against that enemy of all good, self-deception. It must make us capable of criticizing ruthlessly, yet wholly without rancor, the ideas and conduct of others, without impugning their motives. It must lead us to the discussion and judgment of public policies in the same spirit. Having come, with Socrates, to the conclusion that sin is mostly ignorance, not only shall we forgive our brother seventy times seven, but we shall find ourselves capable of forgiving our own and other nations, while in no measure condoning their offenses. For if those offenses arise from that subtlest of errors, unclear and therefore dangerous thought, then with clean hands and clear heads we shall wage war, not on men, but on that error, confident of the victory of truth as men are painfully brought to see the truth. In a day of much darkness and suspicion, of hatred and bitterness of heart, it is in such spirit that the children of the light must turn their faces toward the morning.

HENRY RAYMOND MUSSEY.

Jottings

The news that we get in our newspapers—how wonderful it is! Here in the New York *Times* (April 25th) in a "box" on the front page, at the head of the column, we read the following momentous item "Coolidge Takes to Long Walks, Carrying a Cane in Left Hand."

Here is a man, Clarence O. Baring, manufacturer and inventor, accused of poisoning his wife by feeding her disease germs. The defense is obvious, and will probably be convincing to the jury. Mr. Baring was preparing for the next war!

The appalling news has come from Moscow that the Soviet government is floating a loan of 100,000,000 gold rubles by the allotment system—i. e., a certain individual proportion of the loan is "alloted" to each and every taxpayer, who has to take it whether he wants to or not. It is evident that the Bolsheviki are not above learning a thing or two. They have heard how we Americans put over our Liberty Loans in 1917-1918!

Andrew Lang, in his "The Maid of France," reports of certain priests, who were among the judges of Jeanne d'Arc, that "they were in favor of *whatever upheld the existing state of things*" (page 230). Times don't change much, after all!

Mr. Coolidge states in his new book, "The Price of Freedom," that "no party can survive which does not minister to national integrity." We have assumed of course that the President must realize the certainty of the overthrow of himself and the Republican Party this fall, but had not supposed that he was willing to admit the fact publicly. He is indeed an honest man. Not "Cautious Cal" but "Candid Cal" should be his name.

Truth will out! Steadily the myth of German responsibility for the Great War is being uncovered. The latest revelation is published by Professor Harry Elmer Barnes in the *Current History Magazine* (May, page 171), in an article entitled "Assessing the Blame for the World War." Says Professor Barnes, page 194, "The scapegoat theory of complete, sole and unique guilt on the part of Germany or any other single state can no longer be supported. Probably the majority of competent students would assign the relative responsibility for the outbreak of hostilities in about this order: Austria, Russia, France, Germany and England."

J. H. H.

The Crime of the Ages

When the agitation for woman suffrage was in progress, there was a pair of arguments, often offered by the same debater, as follows:

"Equal suffrage will merely double the vote, because every woman will vote as her husband does."

"Equal suffrage will break up the home, because husband and wife will be politically opposed."

Now that anti-war agitation has had its faint beginnings, leading just as inevitably to emancipation from this early form of bondage, two arguments against the movement are similarly cast:

"There will always be war, because to fight is one of the ineradicable instincts of human nature."

"Conscription is necessary; otherwise, you could not get enough soldiers to fight."

The second part of the second argument is quite true. They couldn't get enough soldiers to fight if they did not have conscription. And thus the first argument is absurd—that fighting is an instinct of human nature, and that therefore, inevitably, there always will be war.

Why do the people of a nation ever "go to war"? (What a ridiculous expression it is! It is like "knock him down," "have his scalp," and so on.) It simply would not occur to them to go unless they were told that it was (1) in defense of their nation or (2) for some high, abstract idealism. It is true that they can be given specious reasons, but those reasons must always be centered in terms of idealism. This is something for those to ponder over who claim that war is "an instinct of human nature," and that the desire for combat is akin to the desire for food.

Charles Kingsley wrote to a friend whose son had gone into the Franco-Prussian War that it would be impossible to conceive of his going if it were not a war to "end all war once for all."

The people can be told that any idealism, like "war to end war" or to "make the world safe for democracy" will be positively accomplished by this warfare; but the sense of some idealism must be there before modern men will fight. They can even be told that a war of aggression is a war of defense against a feared or expected attack; but still the idealism, the safety of their country, must be held before them and made the objective, or they will not fight. No country in the world, unless some of the backward and almost unknown groups, would ever attack another, as two knights used to ride against each other in the greenwood of days of chivalry, merely because they were strangers and would enjoy a tilt. *No nation of boys on earth would ever arise and "go to war" just because they or their leaders were subject to a desire to fight as an instinct in human nature.*

Indeed, it is doubtful whether desire for combat ever was an instinct of the race even in days of chivalry. There was desire for adventure (they didn't have many kinds), desire for food, for booty, for territory, for power; and there was always fear—arrant fear, masking as bravery whenever an army went out and destroyed another army because of what the others might ultimately do to them. But there was combat merely because men had not yet devised any other method. To say that it was an instinct is like saying

that man had an instinct for threshing by hand or for walking the highroads. He didn't. He had an impulse toward food and toward moving from place to place, and the only methods he knew to employ in gratifying these impulses were those which he took—hand threshing and walking. And now the only methods which he knows—or, at any rate, is accustomed to—in order to gratify his greed or to still his fear is to "go to war." Instead of his flail he has now a threshing machine; instead of a pilgrim's staff he has now an automobile or an airplane. But he has kept right on using war as a method, because that corner of his head hasn't kept pace with the part of his head from which automobiles and airplanes came.

War an instinct? No, war is sheer stupidity.

Man merely hasn't been able to devise anything else.

So far as "going to war" is concerned, he is still cooking on a stick in the back of a cave.

Why not admit it and be ashamed of it and of all its ways?

Why not acknowledge that the phrase "going to war" is exactly like "putting on war paint," "dancing the war dance"; and that a man who employs such an expression as "going to war" is as old-fashioned as if he plowed with oxen instead of with a tractor?

War an instinct? Not a bit more than it was instinct to send the mail by a man on horseback instead of by steam cars or aerial post.

Of course, even if it were an instinct, that is no argument. That is merely the old argument that you can't change human nature—an argument outworn. They said it was man's nature to vote and woman's nature to spin. They said you couldn't change woman's nature even to permit her to run out to the polls. They said it was man's nature to be educated and woman's nature to be ignorant. They said it was the nature of some persons to go to heaven, and the nature of others not to accompany them. They said it was the nature of some to be sick and others to be well, and that you couldn't change that either. Everything from typhoid to drunkenness they have laid to human nature and have said it couldn't be changed.

Even if it were true that every one of these qualities and diseases and predilections is a part of human nature, it is then our business to change human nature.

Once they thought that insanity "come natural." Man, the most flexible thing on earth, they have always been sure that they couldn't change; and all the while they went on changing the rocks and the soil, the sea and the air, turning one into gold and minerals and another into food, threading water and wind with means of communication. The most intractable things on earth they made over, yet felt that man, master of them all, couldn't be changed.

Even if war is an instinct of human nature, which it is not, to say that it could never be changed would be like saying that the desert has an instinct to be dry and can never be made fertile. And even if the earth were actually covered with men who were peaceable husbands and fathers most of the time, but whose "instinct" for war could occasionally transform them for a while into murderous savages, we should not despair; for it is our business to weed out all such instincts.

But we find ourselves under no such necessity to change human instincts for the world at large. We find ourselves a little farther on our way—at a place where conscription alone can get enough men to go out to fight at all. War is not a favorite pastime with anybody. That is a good beginning.

But now, to go on farther, how can we eliminate the employment of physical wounds and bloodshed and death as means of settling social difficulties? How can we cause these means to cease to be respectable among nations, as we have made them disreputable among individuals? How can we, as single souls, without the power of great conferences and congresses, do something to hasten the abolition of the idea of war?

For one thing, *by classing it in our own minds as a crime,* which it will some day be formally declared. At the Williams College conference Lord Bryce's simple words touched the core of the matter when he called attention to the fact that, curiously enough, *war has never yet been declared crime.* It has been called so by individuals, as in those ringing and unforgettable words of Jenkin Lloyd Jones:

"War is the culmination of wickedness, the sum of all the villainies."

But it has never yet been declared by any nation a crime to engage in war. On the other hand, it has been gravely provided for: army, navy, military drill, military appropriations, secretary for war. No nation of the world has ever had in its cabinet a secretary for peace.

The outlawry of war has now become a phrase one sees in the newspapers. The branding of war as crime is only a matter of years. Whether decades or centuries depends largely on those alive on the earth today. The first little step is to think of it and talk of it ourselves as crime.

Better Ways Than Bloodshed

As another step let us talk about methods to take its place. Whether one is for the League of Nations or not, this much has already resulted from the use of the term: that there is hardly anyone left of those with us but recently who, whenever mention was made of getting rid of war, looked surprised or hurt or haughty. Regardless of the method taken to attain it, it is valuable to have the mere popularizing and advertising of the idea that maybe there is something to take the place of bloodshed in settling national disputes. The practicable possibility is here to stay. From now on it will always be respectable to talk about it. This means that the idea is safely born. And papers and debates and conversation in school and club and home could have no nobler subject than this eminently practical one that is occupying the attention of minds everywhere.

And one ought to be conscious of living at a time when picturesque efforts are being made to kill the dragon! You need not approve or disapprove of Mr. Ford's peace ship; but at least recognize it as a high moment of endeavor to rid the world of a monster. And now we have a new and unique effort by an American toward the same end—the offer by Edward Bok of $100,000 to the one who devises the best means to rid the world of war.

For the chief purpose of citizenship in the minds of the citizens of the world today should be the same in every country: War must be destroyed.

Adult Bible Class Monthly. —*Zona Gale.*

General Feng and the Christian Church

An incident has just taken place in Peking which once more calls attention to a fact which we have pointed out before, that even a so-called "Christian" military man is a military man still. He whom a large portion of the Christian Church has idolized because of his Christian propaganda in the army, General Feng Yü Hsiang, has just been guilty of a disregard of law and order which even his friends should no longer be able to overlook.

"On at least three separate occasions recently," to quote the *Peking Leader*, "he has shown that he personally has no respect whatever for law whenever its provisions interfere in any way with his whims. And last Friday he not only gave a series of peculiarly flagrant demonstrations of his utter disregard for law—but he afterwards publicly bragged about his superiority to law.

"General Feng was invited to a dinner at the American Legation. He went there in his motor car, accompanied by Mr. Robert Gailey of the Y. M. C. A. On the way to the dinner he broke the law at least four separate times. . . The circumstances were as follows: the policeman at the corner of Legation street and Rue Marco Polo attempted to stop the speeding car which was carrying illegal lights. The attempt failed. The policeman blew his whistle to warn his fellow officer. The policeman in front of the German Legation stepped out in front of the car and courageously stood his ground, thus forcing it to stop. The outriders then jumped to the ground and pushed the policeman from in front of the car. In the scuffle the policeman may or may not have used his baton to defend himself; the evidence is conflicting. In any case he was struck to the ground. While he was lying there, General Feng personally got out of the car and, after considerable violent language, took the baton from the policeman's hand. He then climbed back in, the outriders mounted and the car started. General Feng carried the baton with him and only threw it from the car after some distance had been travelled.

"Various other policemen further along the road between the German and the American Legations attempted to stop the car, which, in spite of the two warnings already given, continued to use the blinding light and continued to race at a break-neck speed. . . To cap it all, when General Feng was explaining his lateness at the dinner to the American Minister, according to reliable reports he said, among other things: 'No policeman in Peking can stop me,' in spite of the fact that, according to duly recognized treaty provisions, he had committed his breaches of the law while on territory strictly under foreign control and while he was, when he made this bragging statement, a guest in the house of one of the Legation heads responsible for the maintenance of the laws he had so flagrantly violated."

We are sorry that in a country where the lawlessness of the military is a constant menace General Feng should have proved himself in the same class with those who are not Christian in this regard. We cannot say that we are surprised. We shall be glad if the incident does something to open the eyes of General Feng's Christian admirers. Hero worship is always dangerous, but it is especially so when the hero is a military man. It is nothing less than tragic that such a large proportion of the missionary body should encourage the Chinese Church in lauding to the skies a man who seems able to reconcile his Christianity with active participation in the Chinese military machine. It is another case of the personal virtues of a man blinding the eyes of his friends to the nature of his social activities. It is true that Feng Yü Hsiang's soldiers are personally better men than the average in the Chinese army, and the General deserves credit for all that he has done to train them in useful trades and to raise their moral standards. But when all has been said and done, General Feng and his men *are* a part of the military machine which menaces the very life of the Chinese nation. Military domination of civil government is, as everybody knows, the particular curse of this country. *There is no hope for China until the power of the military is broken. But the attitude which the Christian Church through some of its missionaries and in various of its publications has assumed towards General Feng tends to lead people in general to overlook the fact that he is a participant in and a party to a thoroughly abominable military autocracy.* This is the same kind of moral blindness which often afflicts the Church at home in dealing with captains of industry who are personally likeable men, but whose deeds in the social and industrial realm are a menace to the nation. It seems doubly a shame to make a hero of a military man just at the hour when China would break the bands which bind her to the old military regime. Perhaps the outside world cannot discover that much progress has been made, but it is nevertheless true that the best of China's present day leaders are working quietly away in the right direction, seeking to oust the militarists and to substitute a real civil government for the old dual system. Their task is a discouraging one, and it is made the harder by those who glorify the leaders of the old regime. We do not suggest that Feng Yü Hsiang is no better than the rank and file of the militarists, but simply that his influence is inevitably on the wrong side when we look not to minor moralities but to the great social issues at stake. Nothing can possibly place him on the side of constructive social reform and on the side of law and order except an entire break with his profession and with the clique with which he is associated. His activities remind one of Bishop Potter's attempt to sanctify the saloon as the working man's club, or the attempt of some Christians to gloss over the methods of certain modern industrialists because a part of their millions go to charity or to increase the coffers of the Christian Church. *There is no method by which we can sanctify the work of a thoroughly corrupt social group through the personal virtues of isolated individuals in that group. Neither is there any method by which a man may keep his skirts clean while a member of such a group.* Neither a Feng Yü Hsiang nor anybody else can sanctify the Chinese military machine, nor any military machine for that matter. They are all diabolical, and the sooner the Christian Church recognizes that fact the better for all concerned. Any little good that General Feng may accomplish among his men is a thousand fold counterbalanced by the harm that he does both Christianity and his country as a member of that social group which is the greatest menace to the welfare of each. We hope that recent happenings in Peking may prove a salutary lesson to those Christians who seem to hold that the Christianity of Jesus is compatible with participation in a thoroughly vicious militarism.

R. B. WHITAKER.

Lintsing, Shantung, China.

Raw Cotton

Shortage of cotton is now recognized as chronic; the crops have been inadequate for years, the reserves are gone, and increased production is an unsure hope for the remote future.[1] The shortage is conventionally ascribed to the depredations of the boll weevil, though control of the boll weevil is not unduly difficult, and though the world has vast unused cotton lands to which the weevil has not come. The control of the boll weevil, like other details in cotton-growing, requires labor; and everywhere, from China to Peru as well as in our southern states, labor for cotton-growing is found unintelligent and unstable. Intelligence and zeal, it seems, choose other employment.

Labor finds the rewards of cotton-growing inadequate and precarious. Cotton-growing is not among the industries that adjust the prices of their output to what the traffic will bear; it is an agricultural industry, and the prices of its product are determined from outside in accordance with fallible judgment of what it can bear. It has not borne what was expected of it, and the chronic shortage of cotton results from the miscalculation. Cotton is a conspicuous and early instance of the logical working out of a general system of prices under monopolistic control with agriculture outside the system.

The land owner has been a close second to the boll weevil as an object of reproach to the spokesmen of the system of controlled prices; he has had no influence with them. He has seized and exploited a natural resource, they say, the farm that God made and bestowed freely on mankind. He has boosted the price of his farm and adds returns on the inflated valuation to the rental that he exacts from his tenant. He has mortgaged his land, which must now support a moneylender as well as the owner, to the further impoverishment of the tenant and the consumer of cotton goods. Investigations of farm tenancy are accredited and encounter no resistance. Expropriation and confiscation are Bolshevistic when suggested for the more expeditiously created wealth within the dominant system, but a land tax or other device to detach a farm-owner from his holding may be debated freely in the best regulated papers.

Whether cotton land remains primeval wilderness or has been exploited hitherto, it has only scenic value and no financial value unless labor is or can be applied to the land. Capital for the purchase of cotton land is nowhere in evidence, because tenants are elusive and an owner could neither pay wages for growing cotton nor make wages by doing the work himself with the assistance of his household. The dominant system of controlled prices effectually discourages cotton-growing, which is not comprised in the system, and cotton land loses its money value. The states acquire title to land because nobody is sufficiently confident of future profits to invest the amount of the taxes. The destination of financial value that departs from cotton land is profits somewhere higher up in the cotton business and other business.[2] The system of expropriation and confiscation so coming into effect is making of rentals and unearned increment on farm land subjects of academic or historic interest merely; the restoration of farm land to public ownership is in process. The farm landlord is not the oppressor any more; the price system is making him obsolete along with his real property.

Those interested in profits to be made out of the raw materials produced by labor on the land seem on the whole willing that co-operation should be recommended. If farmers could co-operate with sufficient effect they might control their output and their prices and so become business men like others, securing what the traffic for their products would bear. The markets never record anticipation of such an outcome, and faith in co-operation is not checking rural exodus or encouraging investment in farm land. Farm animals and crops need space, and to give them the necessary care the farmer must live with them and so must live in isolation. Isolated farmers have not proved capable of such swift and silent collusion as would give their industry fellowship with organized industries that control output and prices. Theoretically farmers might get in, but practically it is easier for the isolated farmer to move to an industrial center.

The world lacks the cotton to which it has become accustomed. Capital is not interested in paying wages for cotton-growing; it prefers investments within the dominant system of controlled prices. Labor prefers wages in other industries to growing cotton as a family business. The scantily clad element of the population must become more numerous because the requisite cotton is not produced.

The case of cotton suggests that unless agriculture is brought within the compass of the newly devised system of controlled output and prices, the part of the world where this system has come to prevail will have a choice between the system and agriculture. The general drift of the European continent is toward agriculture; this drift has not yet included Great Britain, Ireland or America, which still manifest the preliminary tendency to prefer the system of prices under monopolistic control. It is in the end that agriculture is preferred, the form of the preferred agriculture being diversified as in the neolithic beginning and in many a subsequent end and beginning after the contact of an urban superstructure with its rural foundation had grown sufficiently defective. In the end, the utility of agriculture is manifest. The end is not the end of everything; merely of so much as has not been shared with the basic industry. A civilization that included the basic industry on even terms would be a novel experiment, possibly with the novel outcome of stability.

C. F. Ansley.

[1] The hope is in achieving labor costs that "approximate much more closely those under which the American cotton crop originally established itself."—See John A. Todd in *Foreign Affairs*, December 15, 1923.

[2] Such profits are capitalized as corporation securities, thus becoming vested rights to the usufruct of farms and farmers.—See Thorstein Veblen, "Absentee Ownership," p. 366 f.

Our Purpose in Life

The greatest services are only natural expressions of passionate devotion to an ideal. The unique contribution which scientists have made to modern civilization sprang from the love of truth. Those whose efforts introduced political democracy were actuated by the love of freedom. All great artists are inspired by the love of beauty. The power of Christianity comes from the example of a life glowing with a passionate love of humanity. The greatest service that one man can render another is to be his friend; and what is friendship but the worship of God in men?

Consider the most perfect of human relationships—that of mother and child. To her he is indeed the very image of God. To satisfy his every need is her delight, and for him she would willingly sacrifice her life. She is his friend and comforter. His happiness is her happiness; his sorrow, her sorrow. Nothing can shake her faith that he has infinite possibilities of growth.

And who will say that she is wrong? Is it not a part of our faith that there is a power in life which turns our faces to God as flowers to the sun, and a plan by which our deepest longings will find fulfilment? And if we can learn to see divinity in every man and believe in his inherent power to progress, shall we not serve him naturally, as a mother her child, and work to develop the intellectual, moral, and spiritual capacities which are latent in his mind? Surely our efforts will not be futile, for they will be in harmony with the universal plan.

As a matter of fact, we all have a few friends whom we know and love and in whom we can see elements of greatness. But they are generally of our own class, race, color, and nationality, and of about the same degree of respectability. That is as far as our love of humanity goes, and that is why the world is such a quarrelsome place to live in. The snobbishness of the so-called upper classes is largely responsible for this unhappy state of discord in the human family. They set a bad example. But however that may be, it's high time to do something about it. One thing we can do for our own education is to live and work for a while among those we have been inclined to look down on. Thirty young college men and women who spent two months at hard manual labor this summer were convinced by their experience of the vast fund of wasted ability among the laboring classes. It was heartening to see the ability, sad to see the waste. It made those young folks feel the tragedy of it and see the problem as their own. Thomas Mott Osborne felt the same way about the problem of the criminal when he voluntarily went to prison for a week to see it from the inside. Unless we can put ourselves in the places of those we are trying to help, our purpose will not be sincere and our efforts will not be enthusiastic. To extend our usefulness, we must also extend our knowledge, friendship, and sympathy.

What I have said amounts to this: that our services will not be greatly valued unless they are genuine expressions of a dominant desire. To profess high purposes while acting on inferior motives, such as the love of fame, is hypocritical, and soon discovered. Our work must be inspired by creative joy, whether our raw material is men or things. All the enthusiasm, vision, and tender care which are lavished in the construction of a great cathedral must be dedicated to the building of a better human society.

But it is also true that we need an intelligent plan of action. We must formulate definite life purposes to direct our enthusiasm to the best advantage.

The moral ideal for which we all ought to work is finely expressed by William Ellery Channing:

> The glory and happiness of a community consists in vigorous efforts, springing from love, sustained by faith, for the diffusion through all classes of intelligence, of self-respect, of self-control, of thirst for knowledge and for moral and religious growth.

In pursuance of this ideal we have already traced the roots of genuine service to their origin deep in the soil of our religious nature. But in order to serve efficiently, we must be well equipped for the task.

Each one must decide for himself the vocation which will allow the free exercise of his talents in making a unique contribution to the general welfare. He must discover, by studying the special needs of the time, the place where his energy can be applied most effectively. He will soon find that there are tremendous obstacles, peculiar to the age, to the diffusion through all classes of intelligence, self-respect, self-control, thirst for knowledge and for moral and religious growth. These are the great social, economic, and political problems of the day. We who have the opportunity to do so are particularly called upon to inquire into the causes of present evils and to try to apply good methods of treatment. We ought to know something of the history and structure of industry and government and the evolution of science and religion. This knowledge will give us some conception of the civilizing forces of history and will suggest new methods of utilizing them in human affairs. Thus, by analyzing the spiritual and material needs of our time and choosing a way to meet them with our best powers of brain and heart, we shall find our place in the great evolutionary plan.

I am well aware that this is an ambitious undertaking. The influence of our industrial environment makes it doubly hard to apply ideals intelligently. In the first place, it is difficult to cultivate the habit of acting naturally on the noblest impulses, because we tend to assume the impersonal and pecuniary standards of value which are generally accepted in the community. Secondly, the complexity of economic relationships puzzles the student and discourages the reformer. This explains the scarcity of those "vigorous efforts, springing from love, sustained by faith," which constitute the "glory and happiness of a community."

What Mr. Tawney calls "the sickness of an acquisitive society" is not only extremely complicated, but it is catching as well. Nevertheless, a good doctor will not be frightened. He will approach the patient sympathetically and examine him scientifically, observing the facts, locating the sources of the trouble, and suggesting good methods of treatment.

The greatest sin of which we are all guilty in some degree is indifference to the tragedy which is everywhere being enacted around us. The war has come and gone, leaving misery and hate in its wake; but the forces which brought the curse upon us are still at work. Even in our own comparatively prosperous country the diseases of industrialism are constantly producing conflict, fear, hatred, and suffering. Men

are living in a literal hell from which they try to escape by indulging in various forms of excitement. Observe the faces in the street cars and railway stations of our big cities: tired, restless, hopeless, discontented faces, with hardly a happy one among them, unless it be a child's. Why? What can be done about it? Unless we ask these questions with a passionate desire to find the answers, our good intentions will not amount to much. Neither will altruistic purposes suffice without knowledge on which to base intelligent conclusions.

This restlessness and morbid craving for excitement is not confined to any one class in society. Successful business men are not much happier than manual laborers, because they too lead an unbalanced life. We are all so busy mechanically making, buying, and selling *things* that we find no time for worship and personal relationships, which are the sources of healthy living. The problem is a new one, because business transactions have but recently become impersonal. Machine production on a large scale for world markets has separated producer from consumer and employer from employee. There is now little chance for the cultivation of friendship in business, much less for the expression of personality in work.

In a helpful and stimulating article in the *Atlantic Monthly* for August, 1923, Philip Cabot gives his solution for the problem. To him "it is clear . . . that the true remedy . . . for the ills from which we suffer is a revival of our faith in God." In order to renew their energy and zest for life, men need to

> set aside for a time all material work, and to concentrate attention on God, the spiritual center of the universe. Just as the sea captain corrects his course by daily observations of the sun, the center of the solar system, so man must correct his course at frequent intervals by transferring his attention to God by means of worship or prayer.

Mr. Cabot then works out in an interesting manner the technique by which this may be accomplished and by which he restored his own strength.

This is admirable advice for us all, but is a solution which raises new problems. How many men have the chance to set aside their work at frequent intervals? How many can forget the lust of wealth and power and develop the "Seeing Eye" and the "Listening Ear"? How many who have been raised in the city slums and unhappy homes, who have been taken out of school in childhood to slave in factories and on farms, whose only playground was the street, or whose lives are spent working sullenly in endless routine with the fear of unemployment and beggary spurring them on, will ever learn in this world to cultivate the religious life? The problem of diffusing through all classes intelligence, self-respect, self-control, thirst for knowledge and for moral and religious growth, is also a problem of social and economic reform. God help us to face it squarely with strength and courage!

There are signs of hope. We do not have to work alone. Men and women are joining hands in the schools and the churches, in industry and in politics, to make great co-operative experiments in social improvement. A Youth Movement is afoot in Europe and America dedicated to the building of a better world. The League of Nations is a growing force in the creating of international good-will. The co-operative and trade-union organizations of workingmen are gaining in power and the workers' educational movement is directing this power into useful channels. The churches are beginning to take an active part in the development of a new social conscience. Let us then unite joyfully with our brothers of all nations and classes in a great world fellowship for the service of man.

ARTHUR N. MOORE.

LET THERE BE LIGHT

Within each of us, O Soul! is the light—
A light that is kindled of the one eternal flame.
In the radiance of this light our being
Is to be raised to its highest power.
In every soul, as truly as in any soul, there is the light—
Many souls, many lights; but lit by the one flame.

Devoutly are we to tend the altar of our mind
That unto the honor and glory of that which is within every mind
The light which is within us may shine forth.
There is to be created a world of light—
A spiritual world, a world of beauty and truth—
And each of us (though our light be as yet but a taper's worth),
Each human soul, is to contribute to the completeness of the result.

We are to help to bring forth out of the depths of every soul
The radiance of its own native light.
For the love of truth that is in us
We are to cherish for each and every soul the same love.
For the love of beauty that is in us
We are to help to inspire all with the love of beauty.

We are to watch for and to worship
Whatever of beauty and truth
Comes shining forth from the heart of man.
The whole nature of man is to be to us an object of reverence.
To whomsoever we meet our spirit is to go silently forth
With the divine word: *Let there be light!*

VICTOR E. SOUTHWORTH.

RED CANDLES AND INCENSE

Between tall bamboo trees,
Stone step above stone step,
Up to the Temple of Secluded Light
And up beyond
To the Pavilion of Refined Elixir.
And all day the rain.
I passed no other pilgrims
And at the Pavilion there were none.
Yet in the Cave of Mystery,
Before the Red Cliff God,
There burned two crimson candles
And ten sticks of "fragrant smoke."
I wondered whence they came.

DOROTHY ROWE.

COURTESY

On the hillside there are flowers
To cover up earth's ugly scars.
How beautiful is clay beneath
And climbing up through bud and leaf!
How raw and crude the earth would be
Without the vine, the flower, the tree!
The grace of grass, the cool green sod
Hides earth's poor wounds to speak of God.

The field of human life had flowers
And buds and blades to cover scars—
Smiles and brave words, courtesies
Of airy ways and graceful, leaves
That grow from out our common clay
O'er jagged wounds to speak God's way.

MABEL F. BLAKESLEE.

THE STUDY TABLE

The Individual and the State

In every war there have been some who refused to fight, preferring imprisonment, torture, or even death as the alternative to killing or helping to kill other men, or to violate their conscience at the order of the state. Leaving out of consideration the mere deserter, vulgarly known as slacker, the "conscientious objector" is a man guided in this conduct by principles of religion and by precepts of the "Prince of Peace." When strains of martial music swell the air, "he hears a different drummer."

Men of this type looked forward beyond our period of national obsession. Once it was a world maxim that "the King can do no wrong," and more than one king, stupid or reckless, lost his life by trusting it. Next, as kings failed, arose the kindred superstition that "a state can do no wrong, because there is no higher power which can lay down statutes to govern it." Through trust in this maxim, the Empire of Germany has passed away, and the self-confidence of all other imperialisms has been badly shaken.

For all delusions of "divine right," the people, relatively innocent, must finally pay. Meanwhile the world awaits a new doctrine. The state can do no wrong, even to its humblest members, without paying the penalty which Time exacts for all crimes large or small. There can be no greater penalty for wrongdoing than to become callous towards it.

The nature of the coming state is thus foreshadowed by Thoreau:

> There will never be a free and enlightened state until the state comes to recognize the individual as a higher and independent power from which all its own power and authority are derived, and treats him accordingly.

To certain far-seeing men it seems plain that the time must come when no state will try for any reason to injure or destroy another nation by manslaughter or by terrorism. And by the same token, no state will compel its own individual members to sacrifice all that life holds for them in the interest of international quarrels.

In plainer words, military conscription is inherently a crime against God and Man. It may be current in our day, as cannibalism, slavery, gladiatorial combats, witch-hunting, and the Inquisition had their turn and each passed away in the moment of its triumph. When men see a great collective crime nakedly for what it is, a revulsion must begin. Men are now seeing nakedly the crime of war, and its secondary wrong, that of forcing the individual man to be ready in any crisis to sacrifice himself for the sake of interests of others.

In time of war we have two classes of objectors equally conscientious: the one is the so-called "Absolutist," the other may be termed "pragmatist." In 1915 I saw a letter from a youth in the German army, who said in substance:

> We are the heroes in this war; we who fight to save our country from defeat and pillage, while we know that she is absolutely in the wrong.

In a recent volume* dedicated to both these classes, "the brave who went for conscience' sake to trench or to prison," Dr. Norman Thomas has given a valuable record of the trials of conscience in the World War. Conscientious objectors, however varied in external traits, were all "marked by one common quality, a refusal in time of war to admit the right of the state to dispose of them as it would, irrespective of their own convictions." Among these men "it was not possible to distinguish between 'sincere' and 'insincere' objectors save by the pragmatic test of the amount of suffering they would endure for their beliefs."

Mr. Thomas notes that the early stages of the Great War gave an added impulse to American peace sentiment. "In spite of war propaganda by influential Americans, the average citizen, until the spring of 1917, was frankly glad that we were out of the conflict. Neither the invasion of Belgium, the ravaging of Armenia, nor the sinking of the Lusitania, served to kill our widespread pacifism. It was strong enough in the fall of 1916 to re-elect Mr. Wilson, and as late as the declaration of war there were shrewd observers in and out of Congress who were persuaded that it would have been decisively defeated if it had been submitted to a popular referendum." Against conscription, opposition was even more deep-seated, but as matters went, there was no point on which it could rally without serious embarrassment to the men actually in the field. It became clear that if we must fight in Europe (a matter already decided) none of us can escape part in it. And this part was very unequal, some thousands growing immensely wealthy—out of the substance of the rest of us, for there was no other source of profit.

In these days, observes Mr. Thomas, "many who had formerly been opposed to the war favored conscription as the best way to see it through. Probably they were right, at least from the standpoint of efficiency. It is to be doubted if war between strong opponents can be carried on without conscription and the denial of free speech. That is one of the indictments against war; its first casualties are liberty and truth." Once enmeshed in war, the only way out is forwards.

Mr. Thomas gives a just and well considered account of the progress of the national policy toward objectors. Beginning often with friendly argument, it usually ended in extreme and very unequal severity.

The commandant at Fort Riley is quoted as saying:

> The trouble with you fellows is that you think too much. That's a mistake. Let the President do your thinking for you; that's what he is President for.

But most of them could not agree to this. As with the abolitionists in 1859, they heard "a different drummer," and were all consigned to the Court Martial, which not being a court of justice, rarely showed ordinary mercy. Naturally many of these men became exalted through their sufferings. "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church." In a private letter of Duane Swift, describing his carrying of great stones under hobbles which shortened his step to 16 to 21 inches, he observes:

> I lasted it out fine. They will never know where I get my strength, but it comes, and that freely. They think they can break me, but the more they lay on me, the stronger that inner man gets, and the happier I become. I have been happy, singing, whistling, praying all day. I thought of Christ and his trip to Golgotha as I toiled.

Mr. Thomas gives a searching record of the dealings of the national prisons with the groups of objectors, some elements humane and natural, others of unrelieved brutality. But the problem remains unsettled,

*"The Conscientious Objector in America," by Norman Thomas. Introduction by Robert M. La Follette. B. W. Huebsch, New York.

and will arise wherever war appears. Most objectors were willing to help in any way which would give relief to any man.

But they would not admit the sovereignty of the state over their convictions, nor permit themselves to bargain with it for a partial release from a war that seemed the negation of their ideal. . . . They did not expect their views to find favor in the midst of war, and they were willing to die for them. . . . All objectors to some degree challenged the religion of the state at the moment when war had raised it to its greatest exaltation. Only the absolutists challenged it utterly, and only absolutists will make the issue sharp and clear if, and when, the next war comes.

Instead of the conception that "the State can do no wrong," they have advanced a step towards realization that the state must do no wrong to men and women who help to create it and are at its mercy.

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

CORRESPONDENCE

CONSCRIPTION IN UNIVERSITIES

Editor of UNITY:

I am giving you below a copy of a letter which I have sent to President Suzzallo in the hope of arousing discussion regarding the question of enforced conscription in our universities.

Cordially yours,
JANE GARROTT.

"Seattle, Wash., 4324 Meridian Ave., March 20, 1924.

"Dear Dr. Suzzallo:

"Perhaps you do not know how many young men are forced to give up their college training in our University because they are unwilling to take military drill. I have recently heard of so many cases of this kind that I feel obliged to register my protest against this interference with the personal liberty of our students. Moreover, a number of Christians are now declaring that the study of military science is incompatible with their religious belief. Is it not a terrible mistake on the part of your Faculty and Board of Regents to compel these young men to violate the dictates of their own conscience?

"Please let me call your attention to the fact that a grave danger threatens our educational institutions,—the danger of militarization. The reason for this is not far to seek. The number of desertions in our army and navy reaches annually a very high figure. It appears from reports in Congressional records that it is not difficult to persuade undesirable and vicious boys, or men of no ambition, to enlist in the service, but it is almost impossible to get a large number of 'up-standing young fellows,' as one of the army officers has expressed it. Youth of the best type shun army life. In view of this difficulty the War Department has announced its intention of invading our public schools for the purpose of enlisting recruits. (See Weeks' Report, Nov., 1922.) In fact, our schools offer the only promising field for the recruiting sergeant. It appears that our students are to be made the victims of the aggressive policy of our War Department.

"Should not leading educators unite to thwart this plan? Americans have never wished to force military drill upon their young men. Least of all upon those who enter the fields of higher learning.

"It is stated that the R. O. T. C. drill is a measure in the interest of national defense. Nothing could be further from the truth. The next war will be fought with gas bombs from the air. In this crisis college boys in khaki will be as useless as their own officers' swords and spurs which the students laugh at on the campus.

"As a matter of fact the training of these students, far from being a measure of defense, constitutes a menace to the safety of the nation, since young men in civil life training for war on the Pacific Coast must furnish to other nations an added cause of alarm and suspicion. The World War clearly proved the fallacy of the 'preparedness' theory. When American colleges force their students to bear arms they are helping in the disastrous policy of our War Department which is now making the United States the most hated and feared among nations.

"As regards physical development, many authorities (among them army officers) may be quoted to show that free athletic exercises are better for the health of young men than army drill. It is foolish to waste five hours every week of the boys' time for two years in routine maneuvres as futile as they are distasteful.

"Most of the students detest this training. Military drill, inadequate as a means of physical development, is also psychologically indefensible. Military martinets may impart a superficial veneer of so-called discipline; they can produce obedient automatons, but they cannot mould men of independent minds such as our country needs today. The bolder spirits among the students have rebelled in the past against the Prussian goose-step, and there is reason to believe that when another move is made in this direction by the students themselves, they will have back of them the sympathy and encouragement of a large number of citizens.

"Army men would have the public believe that officers on the campus will help the students to form higher ideals of citizenship; but surely this is the very essence of Prussianism. Americans cannot look to these men whose business is the teaching of organized murder to lead our youth in moral thought. Students who think clearly grow cynical over such ridiculous pretenses.

"There is another aspect of this question which is causing many to lose faith in the value of a university training. Common folks feel that the big industrial leaders of the United States are interested in the formation of a large army to use for the purpose of protecting their investments at home and abroad. 'The boys are drilling so they will be ready to fight for the Standard Oil Company and the Wall Street patriots,' is a comment one often hears nowadays. In short, the great mass of common people in this state look with suspicion upon the policies of your University. One of the best ways to restore their faith would be to abolish compulsory military drill.

"It is evident that a new impulse towards a closer fellowship between races is rising in the hearts of college men and women all over the world today—an impulse which, if encouraged, will lead to peaceful international relations. We hope that the authorities of our University will keep pace with the ideals of the younger generation. As one of the first requisites of international good-will let us disarm our students!

"Having in mind the cordial, if not sympathetic manner in which you received a delegation of citizens who went to the campus about two years ago to ask that military drill be made optional instead of compulsory, I am hoping that you may be willing now to grant the wishes of your students and others of the community and reconsider the position you have taken. Will you kindly let me know if there is soon to be another meeting of your faculty or your Board of Regents when a committee may visit you to repeat the request made two years ago? Surely our demand is a very moderate one: May not our sons be granted a diploma from our State University without being obliged to learn how to kill men?

"This letter will be published as widely as possible in the hope that more parents may realize the injustice done to their sons on account of the close connection between the War Department officials and our University.

"Yours very truly,
"JANE GARROTT."

A LETTER *NOT* PUBLISHED IN THE W. G. N.

Chicago Tribune,
7 S. Dearborn St.,
Chicago, Illinois.

Gentlemen:

Your hysterical attacks have seemed to put the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom on the defensive. I write to restate our position.

The women of the W. I. L. are pledged to wage peace,—to organize the world for peace. Already we have Peace Leagues in thirty-one countries (not in Russia,—those logicians please note who have tried to connect Russian Reds with Christian Pacifists). If the time ever comes when the United States is in danger of *actual attack*, we will stand ready to defend our country. But this does *not* mean that we shall ever urge the sacrifice of our boys to protect American Oil Magnates in Mexico or Trade Exploiters in the Orient.

The women of the W. I. L. believe that it is the duty of every patriot, in times of peace (such as we now enjoy), to serve in a prophylactic educational campaign to prevent the

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

INTERNATIONAL SUMMER SCHOOL

Of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

For Men and Women of Every Nationality, Race, or Creed.
Date: May 17 to May 31, 1924
Place: Chicago, U. S. A.
Subject: The Human Factors in Internationalism.

Location of Lectures.

All morning lectures from 10 a. m. to 1 p. m. (except those on Thursday, May 22, and on Thursday, May 29) are held in Recital Hall, tenth floor of the Fine Arts Building, in which the Headquarters are situated, 410 South Michigan Boulevard.

Afternoon and evening lectures and also the Thursday morning lecture on May 22 given during the first week of the school (May 19 to May 24) are held at the University of Chicago and unless otherwise announced in the theatre of Ida Noyes Hall, 1254 East 59th Street, known as the Midway. Afternoon lectures and Round Tables during the second week as follows:

Sunday afternoon, May 25—Bowen Country Club, Waukegan, Ill.
Monday afternoon, May 26—Fine Arts Building.
Tuesday afternoon, May 27—Field Columbian Museum, Grant Park.
Wednesday afternoon, May 28—Evanston, Ill.
Thursday all day, May 29—Hull House, Polk and South Halsted Sts.
Friday all day, May 30—Fine Arts Building, 410 South Michigan Blvd.
Saturday afternoon, May 31—Sherman Park, 52nd and Loomis Sts., Chicago.

A Dinner in honor of the European and Oriental Delegates will be given at the Abraham Lincoln Centre, Wednesday, May 21st, at 6:30.

The foreign delegates and the faculty of the School are invited to be the guests on Wednesday afternoon, May 28, of the Council of Foreign Relations in Evanston, who also ask them to tea, and on Saturday, May 31, the same delegates are the guests of the South Park Commissioners, who invite them to visit the Park System and to hold the closing session in the attractive field house in Sherman Park.

Principles Adopted at Conference of Youth Organizations at Bear Mountain Inn, March 1st and 2nd, 1924.

As the representatives could not bind their organizations to any program, the principles adopted merely register the opinions of the conferees, and not necessarily of co-operating organizations.

We favor a social order based primarily on production for use rather than for profit, to the end that all may be provided with an equal opportunity for the development of their physical, mental, aesthetic and spiritual powers.

We deplore the attempt on the part of many of our so-called educators to set before the youth of our country the ideals of militarism and the pursuit of private profit, and we favor the development of educational work among the youth of the country which lays chief emphasis on the ideals of social-mindedness and of service to the community.

We likewise deplore the assiduous cultivation of race and religious prejudices and suspicions by many of our citizens, and welcome every movement tending toward a better understanding and more effective co-operation between races and religious groups and to equal rights for all.

As immediate steps toward a better world, we favor restoration of civil liberties, the abolition of child labor, the principles of collective bargaining, equal pay for equal work, insurance against sickness, unemployment, accident and old age, and the socialization of the mines, railroads and super-power.

We urge the increase of world friendship through concerted agitation against war, militarism and armaments, and through the establishment and strengthening of representative international organizations, political, economic, social and scientific, not only on the part of governments, but also on the part of the peoples.

We feel that the medical profession should be allowed, by law, to give such knowledge to parents as will make it possible for them to limit their families to the number, which, under the present economic organization of society, they can maintain in health and happiness.

As agencies tending to bring about needed economic changes, we favor the organization and the strengthening of labor unionism, of voluntary co-operation, of labor education, and of an independent political party of labor and of farmers.

We believe that in our work for social improvement we should individually strive to emphasize the values which tend toward the development of human personality rather than the material values of wealth.

We favor the holding of further conferences of youth organizations, and the co-operation of these organizations for specific purposes.

Organizations Represented at the Conference.

Brookwood.
Christian Endeavor.
Community Church, Young People's Group.
Fellowship of Reconciliation, Young People's Group.
Fellowship of Youth for Peace.
Harlem Forum.
Intercollegiate Cosmopolitan Club.
League for Industrial Democracy.
National Student Forum.
Student Fellowship for Christian Life Service.

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coming of war. They hold that war is the most destructive enemy of civilized man.

The wise (?) fun-(?)-maker of the *Tribune* has likened the attitude of the peace-workers to the naiveté of the fool who says "I don't like earth-quakes. Let's organize against them." Poor old R. H. L.—your logic is a bit out-moded.

Scientists will tell you that earth-quakes are natural phenomena, which we cannot control. War is a social phenomenon, which we can control. War is like disease. It is our worst social disease.

There was a time when plagues and pestilences were accepted by people as the visitations of God, and no preparations were made to prevent their coming. Now we apply all our knowledge of sanitation and health laws to prevent the coming of disease. Let me cite the convincing illustration of the prevention of yellow-fever in the Isthmus of Panama.

Before the United States built the Panama Canal, many French engineering companies had failed to carry out the project, because of the expense of bringing in new workmen. Workmen died by the thousands from yellow-fever.

When General Goethals undertook the building of the Panama Canal, he was confronted with the yellow-fever peril. But did he say "Yellow-fever has always been in this Isthmus, it always will be here. We must prepare for it, with huge quantities of quinine and other medicines; we must organize thousands of nurses and secure all the paraphernalia for fighting disease"?

No. He said "We'll organize to *prevent* the coming of yellow-fever. We'll find out the cause, and wipe it out." He summoned Dr. Gorgas and a corps of scientists and doctors to his aid. They went to work and soon discovered that the mosquito was the yellow-fever germ carrier, and in order to wipe out the disease, they must wipe out the mosquito.

They organized a campaign against the mosquito—and in less than a year, they had stamped out yellow-fever in the Isthmus of Panama. And if you will look up the government reports, you will find that the Panama Canal was built with almost no deaths from yellow-fever.

The W. I. L. is organized to stamp out war, and we're going after its causes. This leads us into two avenues of work:

1. We're trying to wake up the leaders of nations to a sharper realization of the economic waste of war (except to a small group of profiteers). We want them to act with enlightened selfishness by substituting law, arbitration and treaties for war, in settling international disputes.
2. We are trying to bring the sanitation of a peace psychology into public consciousness, so that the citizens of all nations may grow into understanding of and kindliness for each other. Then the fury of hate and fear will be turned upon war as the real enemy of society, and this barbaric institution become as repellent as cannibalism to the minds of men.

Yours very truly,

LOUISE LOEB HAMBURGER.

Student Volunteers.
Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Educational Department.
International Ladies' Garment Workers, Educational Department.
Young Friends' Society.
Young Paola Zion.
Young People's Socialist League.
Young Men's Hebrew Association.
Young Women's Christian Association, Industrial Department.
Young Women's Hebrew Association.
Young Men's Christian Association.
International New Thought Association, Young People's Group.
Ethical Culture Society.
New York School of Social Work, Student's Group.
Social Problems Club of Columbia University.
Young People's League of the United Synagogues of America.
Young Worker's League of the Workers Party.
Rand Students' League (of the Rand School of Social Science).
Young Women's Christian Association, Student Department.

Temporary address of the Executive Committee of the Conference of Youth Organizations will be

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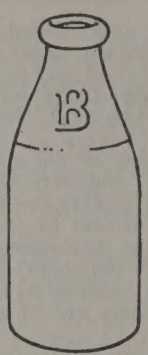

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